1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Recent ethnographic researches have for the most part concentrated upon the Kamayurá (Galvão 1949, 1950, and 1952; Oberg 1953), the Waurá (de Lima 1949, 1950), and the Kuikuru (Robert Carneiro and Gertrude E. Dole, unpublished). Only incidentally have these observers commented upon the Trumaí. Therefore, in 1953 when I had the opportunity to spend a little time in the upper Xingú area, I made a point of remaining a few days with the remants of the Trumaí. They were camped temporarily at Karajaja, the old village site, on a lake about half a mile away from the Kuluene River; their permanent houses were then at Anariatan, near the village site during Quain's visit. It was the dry season and the Trumaí were fishing. There were only 24 persons in the group — six adult males, ten adult females, four boys and four girls. Three of the women were unmarried widows, and there was one unmarried girl just past puberty. The chieftain whose current name was Ilitoari (no doubt the Aloari of Quain's notes), was married to two sisters, and there were four monogamous families. Two of the men were old and unmarried. Thus, the Trumaí were again united as a village (they had disbanded for a while). In 1953, however, there were not even enough men for the Trumaí to participate in the intertribal spear-throwing contests, a sport in which they had once been famous throughout the area.

The process of steady social and cultural disintegration and depopulation, which was already apparent among the Trumaí in 1938, has been a continuing one; and it is only a question of a very short time before these people cease to exist as a separate tribal group. Thus, the information and insights that Robert Murphy has brought together from Buell Quain's field work may be all that we shall ever have on Trumaí life and society.

Columbia University
February 1955

CHARLES WAGLEY

[P. x contains no textual material]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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line by canoe would involve a journey of several hundred miles through mostly uninhabited country. The southern approach is the only feasible one for surface transportation. Even this is difficult as canoes and pack animals are needed after leaving Cuyabá. Between that city and the upper Xingú, the Planalto de Matto Grosso intervenes. This is an extremely rugged upland, hard to traverse. The isolation of the area made difficulties for ethnologists, but these were more than compensated for by the intactness of the native cultures. The establishment in 1947 of an outpost and airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, located below the juncture of the Kuluene and Kuliseu rivers, has done much to overcome the physical obstacles. The near future should see a considerable increase in ethnographic data from the headwaters of the Xingú.

In 1938 the Trumaí village was situated on the Kuluene River near its juncture with the Kuliseu. The Kuluene is the easternmost of the six parallel rivers that form the headwaters of the Xingú. The Xingú, itself, is one of the largest of the rivers tributary to the Amazon. It joins the Amazon about two hundred miles from the mouth of that river, after flowing from south to north for approximately one thousand miles. The six rivers which flow parallel to each other for over two hundred miles and then join to form the Xingú are, from east to west, the Kuluene, Kuliseu, Batoví, Jatobá, Ronuro, and Steinen rivers. They rise in the uplands, flowing through plains country and gallery forest. Further downstream they widen out and begin their descent into the tropical rain forest. The open country between the streams diminishes and the area covered by forest increases. The terrain is flat with but slight elevations between the rivers. Opening on the rivers are marshy subsidiary streams and large systems of lagoons which extend for several miles. Adjacent to the Kuluene and Kuliseu are broad sections of periodically inundated savannah lands, which are little used by the Indian population.

The heavy rains from October to April have the same profound effect upon the annual cycle of life here as they do in other sections of the Brazilian rain forest. Of great importance, also, is the effect of the rains upon the soil. The rains are too heavy to allow the surface soil to retain them. The water runs off or sinks deeply into the loose earth, leaching the surface of minerals and making it poor for agriculture. Since no form of mineral replenishment is used, a garden plot becomes exhausted in about two or three years, or after two plantings.

Nevertheless, the rain forest is suitable for primitive agriculture, since the looseness of the soil makes it ideally adapted to the primitive tools in use. As the open grasslands in this section of South America have extremely poor soil and cannot be tilled with simple hand tools, the Trumaí, like other tropical forest peoples, are forced to make their gardens in forest clearings in locations that are not flooded annually.

[text continues on p. 7]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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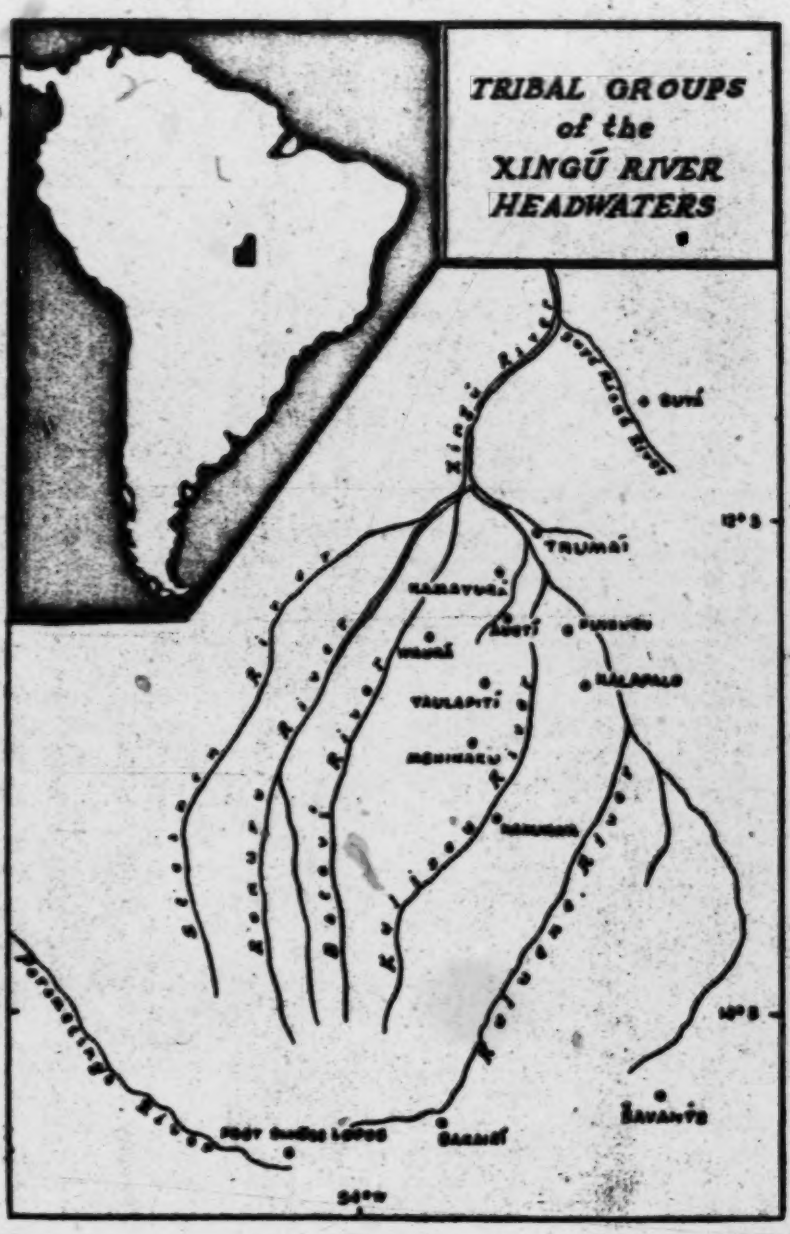

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The rapid exhaustion of the soil forces them into a life which, although not nomadic, involves frequent moves. As the soil in old plots is exhausted, new ones have to be opened up. The area of exploitable land around the village is limited by the need to transport the produce and protect the villagers from their enemies. Thus, after the land available to the village has been used, the group moves.

The main subsistence of the nine village groups now living in the upper Xingú area is derived from this typically Amazonian shifting horticulture coupled with fishing in the extensive streams, lagoons, and estuaries. Apparently, the population of the region was never great enough to cause any pressure on land or other resources. Each village maintained exclusive rights of exploitation over certain waterways and areas of land within which the village always moved. There evidently were not, and still are not, any clearly defined territorial boundaries; but village rights are implicitly recognized.

The Neighbors of the Trumaí

Although there is considerable uniformity in the cultures of the upper Xingú tribes, their linguistic affiliations are diverse. The main language stocks of aboriginal Brazil are represented. On the Kuluene River are the linguistically independent Trumaí and the Cariban Kuikuru, Kalapalo, Tsuva, and Naravute. Near the waters of the Kuliseu River live the Tupian Kamayurá and Auetí, the Arawakan Mehinaku and Yaulapití, and the Cariban Nahukwa. The Batoví River is inhabited by the Arawakan Waurá and Kustenaú.[1] All these villages maintain a rather distrustful peace among themselves, but live in fear of their hostile Gê- and Tupian-speaking neighbors on the perimeters of the upper Xingú drainage area.

The upper Xingú "tribes" consist of one village each. It seems evident from the linguistic heterogeneity of the region that it is a *cul de sac* — one of the aboriginal refuge areas which characterize the cultural landscape of the headwaters of the Amazon and its tributaries.

The cultural uniformity of the above peoples has impressed all observers, as has the extensive contact that they maintain with each other. Descriptions of this homogeneity are to be found in von den Steinen[2] and, latterly, in Galvão[3] and Oberg.[4] Among the principal material traits which distinguish the area as opposed to neighboring, but outside, groups are: haystack-shaped houses arranged in a circle around a central plaza; bark canoes; dependence upon fish for protein;

[1] Oberg (1953, p. 4) states that the Yaulapití, Kustenaú, Tsuva, and Naravute no longer live in independent villages, but reside among other groups, usually of the same linguistic family.

[2] Von den Steinen 1886. [3] Galvão 1949. [4] Oberg 1953.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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ted plants as beans and gourds and for the flat manioc flour cake, the *beijú*, are almost identical with the corresponding Kamayurá words.

The pre-contact history of the Trumaí is largely inferential and their recent history is poorly documented. The white explorers and scientists who visited the upper Xingú frequently did not encounter the Trumaí, and almost never visited their villages. Historical data indicate that in von den Steinen's time and possibly as late as the 1931 trip of Petrullo the Trumaí lived in two villages. Von den Steinen showed an abandoned Trumaí village, in substantially its present location, and another on the lower end of the Tsahuku, a network of waterways and lagoons west of and parallel to the Kuliseu River.[6] Although Meyer's map did not show this southern village in 1896,[7] it appears in Schmidt's map for 1901.[8] Petrullo encountered Trumaí, most probably of the southern village, on the west bank of the Kuliseu, between the locales of the Nahukwa and Mehinaku villages.[9] M. Moennich, one of a party of American missionaries who descended the Kuliseu in 1937, did not, however, note a Trumaí village near this site.[10] When Quain arrived in 1938 there was only one Trumaí village, which was located at the northern site. This would suggest that the southern village was abandoned in 1937–38, but it is possible that those Trumaí seen by Petrullo and Moennich were the same ones whom Quain visited.

The northern and southern villages mentioned in the literature are the only ones recorded. It is certain that since 1884 there have only been two communities, although each has been located in many different places. Unfortunately, the exact locations of the abandoned sites and their periods of occupation are not well known. Each of the old village locales had a name, and these designations are still known. Among them are Morena, Waniwani, Karajaja, Iakare, Jawpew, and Wahldat. Some of the names, such as Iakare, are obviously of Tupían origin. Jawpew was the name of the northern Trumaí village at the time of von den Steinen's expeditions. Karajaja was the last location before the one in which Quain resided. This site was located near the Kamayurá village on the Tsahuku and appears on Petrullo's map. The Trumaí said that it was a good village, but that they had to move because the Kamayurá and Auetí were practicing sorcery against them. The village to which they moved, and where Quain visited them, was named Anariatan.

People were often referred to by other Trumaí according to the village in which they were born. Thus, a *Wahldat jaxlo* was, literally, a son of Wahldat. Also, garden sites were most commonly named after an abandoned village. The old villages were looked on with reverence as the homes of the ancestors of the Trumaí. They were considered to be places of great interest, and Quain was repeatedly urged to visit them.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 93. [7] Meyer 1897, Plate I. [8] Schmidt 1942.
[9] Petrullo 1932, p. 180. [10] Moennich 1942.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The fishing grounds and the still productive fruit trees of the old villages were considered to be the domain of the Trumaí, and these rights were apparently respected by others. When the village moved in search of new land, it was usually to one of the old sites, whose name the new village would take.

The Trumaí were once feared by the other tribes of the upper Xingú and were evidently a relatively numerous and vigorous people. However, when Quain visited them in 1938, they numbered only 43, and only ten years later, in 1948, the population had shrunken to a meagre 25.[11] Their small numbers had forced them to abandon village life once since Quain's visit, but they subsequently reunited in a new community.[11a]

Warfare

The topography of the flat upper Xingú Basin encourages considerable contact between tribes. The waterways are extensive and have importance beyond subsistence, as they are the chief avenues of trade and warfare. Communication through the river and flood plain system is the main reason for the high degree of cultural homogeneity that has been achieved by these tribes of diverse origins and languages. Intertribal relations are not confined to trade and warfare, but enter the spheres of social organization, ceremonialism and mythology.

Intertribal bonds within the upper Xingú Basin were based on peaceful relations between the tribes. These tribes formed part of a bounded social system in which groups outside the area did not take part. The Bakairí Indians of the Paranatinga River were on a friendly basis with the headwaters groups only because they had once lived on the Batoví River. Other tribes were uniformly enemies, regardless of cultural or linguistic affinities. Despite this peaceful interaction among the upper Xingú villages, there was considerable mutual fear and hostility between them which was expressed in witchcraft, petty thievery and intimidation. The practice of sorcery upon other villages is especially significant, in that sorcery is used in nearly all cultures only between people who share close interpersonal ties. This illustrates better than anything else the high degree of intervillage integration in the upper Xingú River Basin. The component groups constitute far more than a culture area — they form a society.

Despite the nominal peace within the upper Xingú area, the Trumaí lived in dread of their neighbors, and with good reason.[12] Situated

[11] Oberg 1953, p. 4.

[11a] Latest reports state that a measles epidemic has wrought great havoc, and that the few survivors have all joined other groups.

[12] Although fear of neighboring groups is general in the upper Xingú, do Lima (1949, p. 28) noted it to be especially strong among the numerically weak Trumaí.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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CHAPTER TWO

TRUMAÍ SUBSISTENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Vital Statistics

162 The population of the Trumaí village in 1938 was 43. This figure includes the 3 foreign women in residence and excludes those few Trumaí who were living with other groups. There were 17 men, 16 women, and 10 pre-pubescent children, of whom 8 were male and only 2 were female. [127] Due to the previously mentioned capture and forced marriage of Trumaí women, the average age of females seems to have been considerably greater than that of males. Two men were considered by the Trumaí [163] as old, while four women were placed in that category. This disparity of age undoubtedly had an influence on the Trumaí birth rate.

165 Infant mortality seems to have been high, and Quain was of the 849 opinion that it was further aggravated by abortion and infanticide. The fact that there were eight male children and but two girls suggests that infanticide must have been practiced only upon females. Quain's notes, however, give no indication that this was the fact. Pulmonary diseases 164 have devastated all the groups of the upper Xingú, but the drop in the 161 Trumaí population from 43 in 1938 to 25 in 1948 is probably not paralleled in the other villages during that time.

Village and Gardens

361 The Trumaí settlement was located a scant half-mile from a lagoon 133 that opened directly upon the east shore of the Kuluene just a few miles away. The mouth of the lagoon was narrow, but it broadened out into a lake of moderate size with many small bays and was ringed with [36] swamps. Proximity to the river made insects a continual nuisance during the rainy season. The Kamayurá village, located near the sandy beaches of a lagoon lined with *buriti* palms, was relatively free of insects.

361 The village consisted of four houses and another under construction. Between the houses and the surrounding forest lay an area of weeds and low underbrush into which refuse was thrown. The ground within the ring of houses was kept comparatively free of weeds and litter. The village "plaza" was about 200 feet wide. In the center were the log [231] bench and fireplace of the men's gathering place. Nearby was a conical wicker cage in which the village harpy eagle was kept for its feathers, which were used in ceremonies.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The plaza was the center of Trumaí social life. Here guests were entertained, ceremonials and wrestling matches were held, and the men gathered daily. Although the women might sit in front of their houses and watch these activities, they were not allowed to come near the log bench, even when the men were not there. The plaza of the Trumaí village was also used as the burying ground.

A short distance north of the circle of houses, on the path to the two main garden clearings of the Trumaí, was another smaller clearing used during the *ole*, or manioc, ceremonies. Other paths radiated outward from the village to the other gardens and to nearby groves of *piquí* trees. Quain noticed that the paths leading to the Kamayurá village were much broader and cleaner. The Kamayurá were proud of their paths and kept them in good condition. Their plaza was also clearer of weeds and trash than that of the Trumaí.

Of the four completed houses in the village, two were as large as those of the Kamayurá, but the other two, which were much smaller, were considered by Quain's informants to be genuinely Trumaí in type. Insofar as is known, the details of the construction and shape of all four were substantially the same. They had an elliptical floor plan and were haystack-shaped. Although the side walls were only four feet high, the roof attained a height of fifteen feet. The silhouette of the house was an almost smooth curve from ridge pole to ground. The frame was covered with a grass thatch. There were no windows, and a single entry opened on the plaza.

Each family occupied its own section of the house and had its own fireplace. Personal belongings hung from the walls and ceilings or were placed on small shelves. Hammocks were hung between the side wall posts and the two center posts, the woman's hammock beneath that of her husband. Except for two nuclear families that screened off their sections with blankets and cloth given them by Quain, there was no internal division of the house.

The two largest garden clearings were situated respectively about one mile northeast and one mile northwest of the village. Three small ones were located southeast of the settlement. In order of size, the gardens were named Nariatan, Waniwanitan, Anariatan, Tan Toreake, and Tandatake. Nariatan, the largest, contained, by Quain's rough calculation, approximately seven acres divided into ten plots, representing the gardens of seven men. One plot contained two acres, but the average garden varied between one-fourth and one acre in size. One of the men had erected a temporary thatch shelter in his plot, providing protection from the sun, but not from the rain. Inside there was only a basket of manioc flour, a rack for cooking fish, and a large shallow pot into which manioc was grated. This was the sole garden shelter Quain saw, and, significantly, it belonged to the most industrious horticulturist in the village.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The path which led from the village to Nariatan, the northwestern garden clearing, passed through the previously mentioned ceremonial clearing north of the village. A short distance beyond this point, a branch took off to the east and led to Waniwanitan, the northeastern and second largest clearing, which contained nine garden plots totaling approximately five acres. Each garden was tilled by a different man, but two men had plots in both Nariatan and Waniwanitan. The size of the average garden was one-half acre. There was no newly cleared land, and, in contrast to Nariatan which was still yielding, nearly all of the crop (mostly manioc) had either died or been harvested. Quain noticed that the soil in Nariatan had a gray tone, whereas that of Waniwanitan was reddish in hue. This difference in color was due to the ashes deposited by the more recent burning over of the former site.

Nariatan was a newer garden than Waniwanitan, and the former was planted to a variety of crops while the latter was nearly all in manioc. This is indicative of the common tropical forest slash and burn system whereby second year gardens are used only for manioc growing, and new areas in which the soil is still comparatively rich are used for other vegetables in addition to manioc. The Trumaí are unique, however, in that the garden clearing was divided into individually owned plots. Smaller individual gardens or large gardens cleared and cultivated collectively are the general rule in the rain forests of South America.

The three other clearings were small, and each contained one garden plot. One was one-quarter acre in size, while the other two each comprised one-half acre. These small gardens were connected with the village by separate paths and were closer to it than the two larger clearings. Anariatan, Nariatan and Waniwanitan were named after old village sites, but Quain knew of no abandoned locations from which the names Tan Toreake and Tandatake could have been derived.

Horticultural Techniques

It is difficult to assess the relative importance of horticulture, fishing and gathering in the subsistence economy of the Trumaí. At different times of the year each made the major contribution to the diet. Most garden products became available at about the middle of the rainy season, but manioc was dug up when needed throughout the year. Fish and manioc were staples the year-round, although fishing was poorer during the rains. Each was more important in the total diet than were the products of gathering. However, the subsistence of the Trumaí at certain times of the year, especially in the early part of the rainy season, would have been seriously threatened without the wild foods.

The agricultural cycle started in the early part of the dry season when the clearings needed for the next rainy season's gardens were made.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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"Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declining culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about gift-giving .... There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them. Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession is admired.. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid. Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun....

"These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals. They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct Trumaí moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.[1] The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

"The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the remembrance of some petty chore undone....

"The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intra-village personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house .... Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a shadowy corner of my house.. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians....

"Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy, lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and

[1] Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumaí which has been discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the northern and southern Trumaí villages. The latter specialized in axe-making.

Waura SP18
Yaulapiti
Trumai SP23

/121 cont./

W 122 487 and the trip across the southern lagoon -- and then a land route to the end or, as reckoned by us, to the beginning of the Auetö canal, where the plantings and shelter-huts of the Auetö were -- and finally, another embarkation there and the trip to the Auetö village.

W 122 The unpleasant thing was that for these three trips there was always only one canoe available, and, what was more, it might easily happen that this canoe would be underway and not available when it was needed.

From the second Yaulapiti village, first Ehrenreich and I departed in the one canoe that lay there, while Wilhelm and Carlos were obliged to sit in the shadeless swamp with the blazing heat of the sun for over three hours until they, too, W 123 were picked up. We two reached the first Yaulapiti village and had great difficulty in obtaining a canoe here and getting away; the people by all means wanted us to stay longer, so that W they would get more beads and knives. The chief, however, 123 seemed to have an additional reason for delaying our departure. 648 Not until he saw that we were adamant did he give us a canoe and tell us, looking fearful, that the Trumaí were among the Auetö. He was very much worried that we intended to do them harm. He urgently beseeched me not to, and as he was bidding me farewell he asked me once again in all seriousness, with very expressive pantomime, whether I were not going to cut the throats of all the Trumaí?

W /122/ We crossed the lagoon, sent the boat back, and set 122 out on the way to the Auetö canal. It was a fine afternoon; the W Indian who carried our luggage had a happy nature and, in spite [534] of his burden, happily blew his little Panpipe. In this pleasant mood we were disturbed by the braggart Moritona, the great sorcerer of the Yaulapiti, who came striding along, all alone, with his carrying basket. He tried to hold us back and delivered T a long speech, the alpha and omega of which were the Trumaí; ● 361 apparently they were nearby. We passed a spot where people had been camping and a number of fires had been burning. All

T 123 /124 cont./ pocket along the way. A certain amount was obviously missing; I hope it was distributed among various fanciers and taken by them with some success for the skin diseases particularly common among the Yaulapiti.

T 126 Much as we were urged to depart, we still had to undertake at least the most important body measurements and would not relent; seven men were measured in haste, in between our packing, and the only photographic plate left was used for a group shot -- unfortunately ruined later.

T 122 At 9:45 we set out in two canoes, accompanied by four Trumaí. Three times one would have to sleep, they said, before reaching their villages. The Mehinakú could also be reached by way of the canals and only one day was needed to their second village. At 11:00 we landed near the Auetó village, at a place other than where we had left. In the damp T [136] leaves lay huge quantities of giant earthworms; wherever one put his foot, he stepped on them. The path led us to the two huts of the Yaulapiti-Auetó families.

T ● 361 It is advisable to insert here what Vogel and Perrot reported about the Trumaí villages after their return home from Schingú-Koblenz. They had not caught sight of an Indian, but below the place where the Kulisehu empties into the Kuluëne, on a bank five meters high, they had found one Trumaí village of eight houses and, a kilometer farther east, a second one of five T houses with buildings under construction among them. The 727 Suyá had burned down all the houses and smashed whatever T was left of large pots and utensils. There were plantings of re- 241 markably large size and careful cultivation directly adjoining the T villages. About ten fresh graves were noted; judging from the 764 circular excavation, the corpses had been buried in a squatting position. They seemed to lie deep; at least they were /125/ not uncovered by some superficial subsequent digging. Antonio B had been very alarmed when Perrot said to him: "o doutor Carlos 186 precisa d'uma cabeça /Doctor Carlos wants a head/." It was only with great effort that Antonio had been persuaded to go along on the trip and expose himself to the possibility of meeting the detested Trumaí.

/127 cont./

B T 103 133 T [361] luggage. They reached the place where the Kulisehu empties /128/ into the beautiful wide Kuluëne in seven hours, passed a tributary on the left, a canal of the Mariapé-Nahuquá on the right, found on the right bank the Trumaí villages in the condition described on page 114, and from here were able in all of four hours -- in eight hours from the emptying of the Kulisehu -- to reach Schingú-Koblenz at the junction of the Kuluëne and Ronuro, that large sandy beach where our meeting with the Trumaí was enacted in 1884.

At that time the Trumaí had thus come down on their Kuluëne, and this large river, of which we knew only the mouth, was designated for us as the "Kulisehu." A strange development! On our new expedition we had sought the "Kulisehu" and had found and traveled the Kulisehu as well, but we had meant the Kuluëne. Even the Trumaí live below the Kulisehu mouth; farther up on the Kuluëne lived the Nahuquá tribes, which fortunately, however, were also settled on the Kulisehu in the village visited by us.

Vogel and Perrot had bad weather. On account of the cloud cover, the astronomical latitude could not be determined either at the mouth of the Kulisehu or in Koblenz. The Kuluëne was 241 meters wide below the Kulisehu mouth, 289 meters somewhat above it. From Koblenz they had gone up the Ronuro, had passed the Batovy mouth in a scant half hour -- where on 30 August 1884 we had emerged from the endlessly winding forest stream and for the first time were able to enjoy with some certainty the hope that we had actually found the Schingú -- and had finally continued the journey on the Ronuro for two kilometers farther upstream. The Ronuro had an average width of 250 meters and a depth of three to six meters; the Kuluëne, above Koblenz, measured only 187 meters and the main river at our sandy beach, 366 meters.

B 122 If we did not wish to jeopardize all of our success, the thought of traveling up the Kuluëne and visiting the other Nahuquá villages was completely out of the question. The rainy period had set in in earnest, the journey upstream was becoming

/154 cont./

000 B W 101 361 103 harpy village. Then, on the right bank, comes the village of the Nahuquá. Again on the left, somewhat apart and not visited by us, there is a fourth village of the Bakaïrí. Farther downstream the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ are on the left bank in the two villages which the Bakaïrí designated as Paischuéti (dogfish village) and Kalûti. It seems, however, that there are three villages; the Paischuéti-Mehinakú also spoke of the Yutapühü -- this would be "Kaluti" -- whose harbor we passed on 15 October, of the Atapilú, and at the same time warning us against the Ualapihü, Ulavapitü, that is, our Yaulapiti. From the Mehinakú territory there begin numerous canals, which, along with several lagoons, are found throughout the region between the lower courses of the Kulisehu and Batovy. The village of the Auetö may be regarded as a sort of central point for the canal traffic.*

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A [101]

* It is really strange that their name seems to have this meaning. They are called "Auití" by their neighbors; now in Guaraní the unsoftened adjectival form apité means "what is at the center, in the middle."

B W 101 361 On two lagoons, in two villages, we find the Yaulapiti, on a third lagoon the Kamayurá /Camayura/, who had four villages close together and were on the point of uniting them into a single one. The Arauití (see p. 94) are a mixture of Yaulapiti and Auetö.

T 101 ● 361 167 The Kulisehu flows into the Kuluëne; a few hours of rowing led to the Trumaí settled in two villages on its right bank not far above Schingú-Koblenz. This tribe, driven away by the Suyá, had the intention of founding a new home near the Auetö.

Y 361 103 101 The Nahuquá live upstream on the Kuluëne, and also on small tributaries between it and the Kulisehu, in a series of villages that have separate names. We become acquainted with single individuals from the Guapirí, Yanumakapü, Guikurú /Kuikuru/, and Yaurikumá; the Yanumakapü, the Enomakabihü of the Bakaïrí, do not live on the main river, and of the Guapirí the Bakaïrí specifically pointed out that they are found overland between the Kulisehu and Kuluëne.

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/158 cont./

The Nu-Aruak fall into the subdivisions of the Nu tribes and the Aruak. "Nu-" is the characteristic fossil of these tribes, the pronominal prefix of the first person, highly characteristic for most of them, which we come across from Bolivia and the Mato Grosso to the Lesser Antilles. In the Guianas we see the Nu-Aruak in intimate contact with the Karaiben; on the Lesser Antilles, where the Aruak were attacked and oppressed by the Karaiben, a true amalgamation would in all probability have come about without the arrival of the Europeans, bringing destruction. Father Raymond Breton in 1665 left us a dictionary of the Island Karaiben, whose Indian-French part, unfortunately only this, has become generally available in a facsimile edition, thanks to Julius Platzmann (Leipzig, 1892), and strove earnestly to separate the words of the Karaiben men and the Aruak women, where they differed, but proved by his compilation that two languages were no longer spoken independently of each other, as was mentioned above, but that the Karaiben men had allowed the substance and form of their old "mother tongue" to be tremendously changed by the new "language of their mothers."

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[171]
On the distant Kulisehu we met the exact mirror image of the conditions in the Guianas. The Mehinakú, Kustenaú, Waurá, and Yaulapiti are Nu-Aruak; their influence was clearly asserted in language and culture traits among the Nahuquá who had taken several Mehinakú women.

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Therefore, according to linguistic investigation, the tribes of the Schingú source region are to be classified as follows (the number of villages in parentheses):

Karaiben: Bakaïrí (8), Nahuquá (9);
Nu-Aruak: Mehinakú (3), Waurá (1), Kustenaú (1), Yaulapiti (2);
Tupí: Kamayurá (4), Auetö (1);
Isolated: Trumaí (2).

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/159/ Just as the Nahuquá embrace nine different "tribes," which correspond merely to nine different independent villages, we could likewise put the Mehinakú, Waurá, and Kustenaú together as one tribe. These three tribes speak exactly the same idiom. They also, as we shall see, form an ethnological unit,

/200/

III. Hunting, Agriculture, and "Stone Age" Culture.

Population figures. Location of the villages. Combination of ancient agriculture and the world view of hunters. Hunting and fishing must furnish the most important tools for the tribes lacking metals, for whom the expression "Stone Age" is incorrect. Stone-ax monopoly, teeth, bones, shells, feathers. List of useful plants and distribution according to tribes. No bananas. Plant names as evidence of continuous development. Lack of intoxicating flour-beverages proves that simplicity is not the same as degeneration. Combination of hunting and agriculture made possible through the division of labor of the sexes. Indian women do the agriculture; they invent pots to replace gourds; the men do the roasting, the women the boiling. Culture with agriculture, pottery, and the preparation of flour was spread and maintained by foreign women after wars, in particular by Nu-Aruak women.

The population of the Schingú /Xingu/ source region probably amounts to approximately 2500-3000 souls. I am not in a position to give more than a very superficial estimate. Even in the third Bakaïrí village, the young women and girls fled into the woods when we arrived. Usually the fugitives gradually returned, to be sure, but we never knew for certain whether we were seeing before us the normal number of inhabitants. The opposite also occurred, namely, that visitors from the neighboring villages had come in, and the company surrounding us seemed too large. The smallest villages consisted of only two family-houses, the largest of almost 20. In general, it will be correct if one reckons for the villages, depending on their size, a population of 30 to 150 and, where it is high, up to 200 inhabitants.

Only the Trumaí and, beyond Schingú-Koblenz, the Suyá lived along the river bank. These were the most warlike and restless tribes; one might regard the Suyá as the pike in a fish pond. The rest lived in peaceful security, often more than two hours of travel inland from the river. But while the river in the region of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ was still narrow and had

SP8 Bororo
Trumai SP23
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

T 101 361 648 [50]

The Trumai were met on the west bank of the Kuluseu, between the Anahukua and Mehinaku ports. They had no canoes. We learned that their village was close to the Batovy. It would seem that they also have shifted their village site since Von den Steinen's encounter with them.

All of these people live at peace with each other, though of course quarrels arose at times. Their common enemies are, however, the tribes living to the east and west, tribes that roam across the headwaters and depend on hunting rather than fishing for food.

B 101 829

The Bakairi gave the following list of tribes that are supposed to live in the forests east of the Kuluene: Kayahó (Kayapó); Kaviji; Turi; Maritsava; Phoi, who are pygmies, a little over a metre high; Penehoko, who are a very large people; Tsuyakadi, who also are very large; Yaruma; Suya; Tsuruna; and, on the Paranatinga, the Tonali, who are also known as Kayabi, Kajabi; Apiakala (Apiaka) and the Pana, who are a very tall people.

Y 101 829 648

The Kalapalu gave the names of the following tribes who are supposed to live to the east of the Kuluene and with whom they are permanently in a state of war: lower part of Kuluene, the Siuya (Suya) and Tsuruna (Juruna); directly to the east of their village, the Ahinkotl, Turi, Juruma, Tumbilyaka, Kayapo (big feet) Alitsowa, Aiiva, Yahã, Ravine, Aruga (hide away to kill people), Yarpitsu (kill people), Tahulgi (pygmies). [See map, Plate XXV.]

Y B 648

Our attempt to meet some of these tribes that are supposed to have their villages close to the banks of the Seventh of September river was not successful. In view of the above linguistic grouping of the tribes, it is interesting to note their attitude toward each other. The Bakairi, who are Caribs, distrust and fear the Anahukua, who are of the same linguistic stock, affirming to me again and again that they are a bad people. They were relieved when we left their neighborhood. On the other hand they praised the Mehinaku, and were not even afraid to leave their goods about. The Mehinaku are Arawaks. My canoemen were also at ease with the Aura and the Yawalapiti, and seemed to expect nothing from the Trumai, whom they considered an inferior and poor people. The Auiti were watched with suspicion, but the Kamayula were actually feared, as well as the Tsuva, Kuikutl and Kalapalu, the first being Tupi and the last three Caribs; but the Paravute were praised for their honesty and peaceful disposition, and seemed to recognize in the Bakairi.